

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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GENEVA FOR CCD & CTB DELS

E.O. 11652:N/A
TAGS: PARM, IO
SUBJECT: UNSSOD PREPCOM IV: FINAL MEETING OF PREPCOM,
FEB 24

1. SUMMARY: FINAL MEETING OF PREPCOM IV HEARD STATEMENTS BY NUMBER OF DELS (INCLUDING US) ON STATE OF PROGRESS ON FINAL DOCUMENTS (PARAS 2-9). IN ADDITION, CHAIRMAN FORMALIZED SEVERAL DECISIONS REGARDING PREPCOM V. (PARAS 10-12) COMPOSITE TEXT OF DOCUMENTS ON DECLARATION, PROGRAM OF ACTION, AND MACHINERY WERE CIRCULATED AS CONFERENCE ROOM PAPER. END SUMMARY

2. IN FINAL MEETING, SEVERAL DELS (INCLUDING FRANCE, FINLAND, GDR, US, INDIA, MEXICO) MADE STATEMENTS ASSESSING RESULTS OF FOURTH SSOD PREPCOM. FRANCE
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CIRCULATED PAPER (A/AC.187/105) ON ITS PROPOSALS REGARDING MACHINERY. FINLAND AND GDR EXPRESSED OPINION THAT WORK OF PREPCOM WAS PRODUCTIVE, BUT STATES NEED TO COME TO PREPCOM V READY TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH ON TEXTS OF FINAL DOCUMENTS -- A THEME PICKED UP BY SEVERAL SPEAKERS IN LATER STATEMENTS.

3. USREP (WEILER) MADE STATEMENT EMPHASIZING NEED FOR GREATER EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE REASONABLE AND REALISTIC COMPROMISE TO CURRENT DRAFTS OF FINAL DOCUMENTS. HE POINTED TO NEED FOR ALL STATES TO CONSIDER IN CAPITALS HOW TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON DOCUMENT WHICH NOW FILLED WITH BRACKETED LANGUAGE.

HE SAID USDEL HAD MADE DECISION NOT TO SUBMIT TEXTS ON DOCUMENTS HOPING THAT THIS WOULD ENABLE USDEL TO CONTRIBUTE IN MORE FLEXIBLE WAY TO PROGRESS OF THE WORK SINCE IT WAS CLEAR PROCESS OF CONSOLIDATION WOULD HAVE TO BEGIN IMMEDIATELY AFTER SUBMISSION OF INDIVIDUAL TEXTS. HE COMMENTED THAT THIS DECISION HAD NOT PRODUCED AS MUCH OF A SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION AS USDEL HAD HOPED. NEVERTHELESS, HE ADDED, WE HAVE TO CONSIDER THAT IT WAS PROBABLY TOO EARLY AFTER SUBMISSION OF TEXTS TO HAVE EXPECTED A MUCH MORE RAPID PROGRESS ON CONSOLIDATION.

4. USREP ADDED THAT IN FUTURE DRAFTING WE SHOULD TRY TO DESCRIBE MATTERS AS THEY REALLY ARE, NOTING FOR EXAMPLE THE LISTING AS FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE NEGOTIATIONS A LIST OF PROPOSITIONS THAT ARE SO HEAVILY BRACKETED IN THEIR REFLECTION OF DISAGREEMENTS. HE SAID SWEEPING PRINCIPLES ARE HEADY WINE AND SHOULD BE APPROACHED CAREFULLY. WHILE PREPCOM IV HAD NOT PRODUCED AS MUCH AGREEMENT AS US LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HAD HOPED, HE SAID IN NEXT SESSION STATES SHOULD RESIST TEMPTATION TO PRESS THEIR OWN IDEAS WHICH LACKED GENERAL CONSENSUS AGREEMENT AND TO REALIZE THAT THESE DOCUMENTS DO NOT HAVE TO COVER EACH STATE'S OWN PARTICULAR VIEW ON THE VARIOUS COMPLEX ISSUES RELATING TO DISARMAMENT. IF THIS WERE POSSIBLE, HE SAID, IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO REACH COMPROMISE TEXT ON DECLARATION ON DISARMAMENT. HE SAID ALL SHOULD REALIZE THAT IF A PARTICULAR VIEW WAS NOT INCLUDED, AND SO LONG AS OPPOSITE VIEW NOT INCLUDED, IT DID NOT MEAN THAT A STATES VIEW WAS RULED INVALID BUT MERELY THAT THERE WAS AS YET NO GENERAL CONSENSUS ON IT.

5. RE PROGRAM OF ACTION, USREP SAID THIS TASK WAS MORE DIFFICULT PROBLEM. HE STATED: "THE FINAL DRAFTING OF A PROGRAM OF ACTION CANNOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL THE SPECIAL SESSION ITSELF WHEN WE HAVE RECEIVED THE VIEWS AND IDEAS OF GOVERNMENTS ON HOW TO GIVE A GREATER MOMENTUM TO THE DISARMAMENT EFFORT. THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT WE CANNOT MAKE FURTHER PROGRESS ON THEPROGRAM OF ACTION AT THE FIFTH SESSION. I BELIEVE WE CAN. TO DO SO WILL REQUIRE AN AWARE-

NESS THAT WE CANNOT IN THAT PREPCOM SESSION NEGOTIATE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS. AS I NOTED AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS SESSION, DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF MEASURES TO BE ACHIEVED INVOLVES, OR, MORE ACCURATELY, REFLECTS A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE NEGOTIATION ITSELF -- AND IN SOME CASES WE WILL HAVE TO GENERALIZE. WE HAVE BEFORE US A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF THAT IN THE BRACKETED VERSION OF THE REFERENCE TO TWO NEGOTIATIONS, THE CTB AND THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS, THAT ARE EVEN NOW IN THEIR LATTER STAGES. "AND IF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION IS TO BE A REALISTIC

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OUTLINE OF HOW TO INITIATE A GREATER MOMENTUM TO THE DISARMAMENT EFFORT AND CHART THE FIRST PART OF AN INTENSIFIED EFFORT IN THIS REGARD, WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE CHOICES, IF THE DOCUMENT IS TO HAVE ANY MEANING. WE CANNOT DO EVERYTHING AT FIRST AT ONCE, AND WE WILL HAVE TO HAVE A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF THE FUNCTION OF THE PROGRAM OF ACTION AS COMPARED TO THE WORK THAT IS TO TAKE PLACE OVER A LONGER PERIOD OF TIME ON THE COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM OF DISARMAMENT." USREP SAID IT WAS USEFUL TO SSOD PREPARATIONS TO HAVE RECEIVED VIEWS ON PROGRAM THAT HAD BEEN SUBMITTED,

NOTING THAT WE SHOULD REFLECT ON THEM. HE COMMENTED THAT DRAFTING ON PROGRAM HAD BEEN ATTEMPTED BEFORE SERIOUS REVIEWS IN PREPARATION FOR SSOD HAD BEEN COMPLETED, NOTING THAT IT WAS OF COURSE EASIER FOR SOME STATES TO PUT FORTH PROPOSAL NOW THAN FOR OTHERS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND THIS WAS A REFLECTION OF THEIR DIFFERENT RESPONSIBILITIES.

6. REGARDING MACHINERY, USREP INDICATED US WOULD STUDY WITH OPEN MIND PROPOSALS CAREFULLY, BUT HE AGAIN INDICATED THAT CHOICES WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE. HE NOTED PARTICULARLY THAT A PRIMARY INTEREST US WILL HAVE IN STUDYING THESE SUGGESTIONS WILL BE TO ASSURE THAT THE PROSPECTS OF EFFECTIVE DISARMAMENT EFFORTS ARE ENHANCED AND PARTICULARLY THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE EXISTING MACHINERY IS MAINTAINED AS A NEGOTIATING BODY.

7. US STATEMENT WAS FOLLOWED BY SRI LANKAN REP WHO REITERATED NON-ALIGNED VIEW THAT PROGRAM OF ACTION SHOULD BE SPECIFIC AND THAT, IF FINAL DOCUMENT CONTAINS NO SPECIFIC GUIDELINES ("IS SO EMASCULATED") IN TERMS OF PARTICULAR MEASURES OR NEGOTIATIONS, THE SSOD WOULD, IN THEIR VIEW, HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING, AND CERTAINLY NOT WHAT HAD BEEN DESIRED BY THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP WHICH HAD CALLED FOR IT IN THE FIRST PLACE. THEIR DESIRE, HE SAID, WAS FOR A CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE MAJOR MILITARY POWERS TOWARD A REVERSAL IN THE DANGEROUS AND DESTABILIZING ARMS RACE WHICH COULD LEAD ALL NATIONS TO NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST.

8. INDIAN REP (JAIPAL) SOUGHT TO HIGHLIGHT DIFFERENCES IN FUNDAMENTAL VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY BETWEEN SUPERPOWERS, ON ONE HAND, AND MAJORITY OF OTHER STATES ON THE OTHER. HE SAID NON-ALIGNED HAD STATED THEIR OWN PRIORITIES; HE NOW HOPED NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES AND PARTICULARLY THE SUPERPOWERS COULD WORK OUT ON THEIR OWN AGREED FORMULATIONS OF A PROGRAM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF ACTION. HE SAID AGREEMENTS ON SALT II AND A CTB WOULD NOT GO FAR ENOUGH. HE ARGUED THAT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY COULD NOT RATIONALLY BE BASED ON CONTINUING IRRATIONAL SYSTEM OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE. ASSUMING,

FOR SAKE OF ARGUMENT, STABILITY OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE,
IF LEVEL OF DETERRENCE FORCES IN 1960 WAS ADEQUATE
FOR DETERRENCE, HE ASKED, WHY HAVE LEVELS
OF STRATEGIC ARMAMENTS INCREASED FURIOUSLY SINCE THEN?
MOREOVER, WHY CANNOT THE SUPERPOWERS DE-ESCALATE THE
ARMS RACE BACK TO 1960 LEVELS. THAT THIS HAS NOT
BEEN POSSIBLE POINTS UP THE FLAW IN THE DETERRENCE
ARGUMENTS OF THE SUPERPOWERS. THE FLAW IS THAT THE
LEVELS OF STRATEGIC POWER ARE NOT, IN FACT, MEANT
ONLY TO DETER, BUT HAVE EFFECT OF PROVIDING RATIONALI-
ZATION FOR AND PROVOKING ARMS RACING TO EVER HIGHER
LEVELS.

9. JAIPAL STATED THAT IF STRATEGIC LEVELS ARE MEANT
TO DETER, AND ONLY DETER, THEN THERE SHOULD
BE NO REASON WHY THE SUPERPOWERS CANNOT MAKE SOLEMN
PLEDGES, WHICH COULD BE DONE UNILATERALLY IF NECESSARY
AND NEED NOT NECESSARILY BE SAME FORMULATION, THAT
THEY WILL NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST OTHER STATES.
THIS HAS NOT BEEN DONE. SUCH PLEDGES COULD BE ACCOM-
PANIED BY NON-USE OF FORCE GUARANTEES TO PROHIBIT
CHANCES FOR ESCALATION TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS USE AND TO
INSURE A GREATER SENSE OF SECURITY ON THE PART OF ALL
STATES. SUCH SOLEMN GUARANTEES SHOULD THEN BE
FOLLOWED BY REDUCTION OF LEVELS OF DETERRENT FORCES
AS A FIRST STEP TO AVOID THE RESORT TO NUCLEAR WAR.
FINALLY, HE SAID IF SSOD DOES NOT LEAD TO SUCH MEASURES,
IT WILL BE A FAILURE. STATES INVOLVED MUST NOW MOVE
FROM THE DRAFTING OF DOCUMENTS TO NEGOTIATION OF AGREE-

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MENTS, AND SUPERPOWERS MUST TAKE THE LEAD IN THESE EFFORTS. HE CALLED FOR DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN THE US AND USSR TO THIS END, SO THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO PROVIDE OTHER STATES WITH APPROPRIATE ASSURANCES, TAKING THEIR VIEWS AND ASPIRATIONS INTO CONSIDERATION.

10. MEXICAN REP (GARCIA ROBLES) SAID HE WAS NOT DISCOURAGED BY LACK OF GREATER PROGRESS AT PREPCOM. HE INDICATED THAT THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON NUMBER OF FUNDAMENTAL POINTS INCLUDING THE NEED FOR HALTING THE ARMS RACE, ATTAINING PROGRESS IN INCREASING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, NEED FOR NEW DISARMAMENT STRATEGY, AND AN ENHANCED ROLE FOR US IN DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS. HE SAID HE STILL BELIEVED BEST PROSPECT FOR PROGRAM OF ACTION WOULD BE SHORT TERM PROGRAM OF IMMEDIATE MEASURES.

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11. FOLLOWING REPORT BY RAPPORTEUR ON COMPOSITE TEXT, WHICH WAS HANDED OUT AS CONFERENCE ROOM PAPER 15 (3 COPIES BEING HAND-CARRIED TO WASHINGTON; 10 ADDITIONAL COPIES BEING POUCHED WHEN AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK). CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED THAT SSOD WOULD MEET FOR HALF DAY (MORNING) OF MAY 29, MEMORIAL DAY. HE ALSO OBTAINED PREPCOM AGREEMENT TO MEET ON APRIL 4 (RATHER THAN APRIL 10) TO BEGIN FIFTH SESSION, WITH CONCLUDING DATE STILL APRIL 21. HE PROPOSED THAT SAME WORKING METHOD BE USED IN FIFTH AS IN FOURTH PREPCOM (I.E., LIMITED PLENARY MEETINGS, WORKING GROUP AND DRAFTING GROUPS MEETING MORE FREQUENTLY TO RATIONALIZE TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS). HE APPEALED PARTICULARLY THAT WORKING GROUPS SHOULD HAVE REPRESENTATIVES "AT NEGOTIATING LEVEL" TO FACILITATE COMPROMISE AND CONSENSUS. HE ALSO ENCOURAGED INFORMAL CONTACT GROUPS TO MEET IN MARCH. IN RESPONSE TO US VIEW THAT WORK ON PROGRAM OF ACTION AND MACHINERY SHOULD BE DONE IN SMALLER CONTACT GROUPS AT BEGINNING OF FIFTH PREPCOM (AS OPPOSED TO SENDING CURRENT HEAVILY BRACKETED TEXTS DIRECTLY BACK TO DRAFTING GROUP AS PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED), CHAIRMAN SAID THIS WAS NOT ONLY CONSISTENT WITH HIS VIEW BUT ALSO ENVISIONED BY HIM. IN PROPOSING SAME

WORKING METHOD FOR FIFTH PREPCOM HE SIMPLY WANTED
TO STRESS THAT TIME SHOULD NOT BE SPENT IN LENGTHY
GENERAL DEBATE STATEMENTS.

12. REGARDING NGO PARTICIPATION, CHAIRMAN SAID DECISION
SHOULD BE TAKEN ON THIS ISSUE AT FIFTH PREPCOM. HE
SAID THAT FOR REASONS OF PRECEDENT IT WAS ENVISIONED
THAT NGO'S WOULD PROBABLY BE INVITED TO ADDRESS COMMITTEE
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OF THE WHOLE RATHER THAN GA PLENARY, AND THAT TENTATIVE
PLANS WERE BEING LAID TO SET ASIDE A DAY FOR THIS
PURPOSE. SECRETARIAT WAS ALREADY WORKING ON ASSIGNING
NGO'S SPACES IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL.

13. REGARDING GENERAL COMMITTEE COMPOSITION, CHAIRMAN
RECOMMENDED THAT STATES THINK OVER SIZE OF GENERAL
COMMITTEE FOR SSOD, AND HE OFFERED TWO ALTERNATIVES:
(1) ONE CHAIRMAN, THREE VICE CHAIRMEN, AND ONE RAPPOR-
TEUR; AND (2) ONE CHAIRMAN, EIGHT VICE CHAIRMEN, AND
ONE RAPPORTEUR. BOTH ALTERNATIVES, HE SAID, WOULD EN-
SURE EQUITABLE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION.

13. PREPCOM IV WAS ADJOURNED 6:15 P.M. (WRAP-UP MESSAGE
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